

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 141363

EXDIS FOR US CSCE DEL

FOLLOWING REPEAT BRUSSELS 4583 SENT SECSTATE INFO ANKARA
ATHENS BONN COPENHAGEN THE HAGUE LONDON LISBON LUXEMBOURG
OSLO OTTAWA PARIS ROME REYKJAVIK MOSCOW NATO BRUSSELS DATED
JUNE 26

QUOTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L BRUSSELS 4583

EXDIS

SECTO 32

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP (NIXON, RICHARD M.)

SUBJECT: TEXT OF PRESIDENT'S OPENING STATEMENT TO NAC, JUNE 26, 1974

HEREWITH TEXT OF PRESIDENT'S OPENING STATEMENT TO NORTH
ATLANTIC COUNCIL, BRUSSELS, AS DELIVERED MORNING OF JUNE 26,
1974:

BEGIN TEXT: MR. SECRETARY-GENERAL, DISTINGUISHED MINISTERS
AND COLLEAGUES:
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WHEN THE NATO TREATY WAS SIGNED IN WASHINGTON
TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO, PAUL-HENRI SPAAK CALLED IT
"AN ACT OF FAITH IN THE DESTINY OF WESTERN CIVILI-
ZATION." THE DECLARATION ON ATLANTIC RELATIONS WICH

WE WILL SIGN TODAY IS A REAFFIRMATION OF THAT FAITH.

THIS DECLARATION RECOGNIZES THE IMPORTANT ROLE THAT OUR ALLIANCE HAS PLAYED FOR TWENTY FIVE YEARS IN PROTECTING OUR FREEDOM AND VIERSTY AND IN BUILDING A STRONG, PROSPEROUS EUROPE. MORE IMPORTANTLY, IT LAYS THE GROUND WORK FOR ANOTHER QUARTER CENTURY OF ATLANTIC COOPERATION, SOLIDARITY AND SECURITY.

OVER THE PAST DECADE MANY HAVE PREDICTED THAT A RELAXATION OF TENSIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION WOULD SERIOUSLY WEAKEN THE ALLIANCE. OTHERS FORECAST THAT ECONOMIC STRAINS WOULD LEAD TO AN UNRAVELING OF THE FABRIC OF COOPERATION THAT SUPPORTS THE ALLIANCE. TO MOST COMMENTATORS, NATO COULD NEVER SURVIVE A COMBINATION OF BOTH.

NATO HAS NOT ONLY SURVIVED BUT TODAY, WHEN TENSIONS WITH THE SOVIETS ARE AT THE LOWEST POINT IN YEARS AND OUR ECONOMIES ARE UNDER SIGNIFICANT PRESSURES, WE ARE SIGNING A DECLARATION THAT FORMS THE FOUNDATION FOR AN EVEN BRIGHTER FUTURE OVER THE NEXT 25 YEARS.

NONETHELESS WE MUST RECOGNIZE THAT THIS IS A TIME OF TESTING. A NEW LEVEL OF STATESMANSHIP, OF POLITICAL WILL AND VISION, IS REQUIRED TO MEET THE CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES NOW BEFORE US. I SHOULD LIKE TO ADDRESS THREE OF THESE IN MY REMARKS THIS MORNING--OUR ATLANTIC RELATIONS, THE SOVIET UNION AND THE MIDDLE EAST.

ATLANTIC RELATIONS

THE FIRST PURPOSE OF THE ALLIANCE HAS ALWAYS BEEN TO ASSURE THE COMMON DEFENSE. THE PURSUIT OF THIS OBJECTIVE HAS BEEN IN RECENT YEARS AND WILL CONTINUE TO BE PROFOUNDLY AFFECTED IN THE YEARS AHEAD BY THE CONFIDENTIAL

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CHANGE IN STRATEGIC RELATIONS. LET ME PUT IT BLUNTLY--THE WEST NO LONGER ENJOYS THE NUCLEAR PREDOMINANCE IT ONCE POSSESSED.

OUR COUNTRIES HAVE RESPONDED TO THIS CIRCUMSTANCE IN A NUMBER OF WAYS;

--WE ARE NEGOTIATING TO REDUCE THE THREAT OF CONFRONTATION AND TO STABILIZE THE MILITARY AND POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT;

-- THE UNITED STATES HAS BEGUN TO ADOPT DEFENSE MEASURES WHICH ARE MORE APPROPRIATE TO THE WIDE RANGE OF CONTINGENCIES WE FACE, THEREBY ENHANCING THE CREDIBILITY

OF OUR NUCLEAR DETERRENT TOGETHER WITH THAT
OF THE UK AND FRANCE; AND,

-- ALL OF US HAVE DEVOTED INCREASED EFFORTS AND
RESOURCES TO IMPROVING OUR CONVENTIONAL FORECES.

WE BELIEVE IT IS ESSENTIAL TO CINTINUE ALL OF
THESE ENDEAVORS.

FOR OUR PART, I RENEW MY PLEDAGE THAT THE UNITED
STATES WILL MAINTAIN AND IMPROVE ITS FORCES IN EUROPE
IF THERE IS A SIMILAR EFFORT BY OUR ALLIES. WE WILL
NOT REDUCE THEM UNLESS THERE IS RECIPROCAL ACTION BY THE
OTHERSIDE.

UNILATERAL REDUCTIONS IN CONVENTIONAL FORCES IN
EUROPE CAN HAVE REPERCUSSIONS FAR OUT OF PROPORTION
TO THE NUMBER OF MEN INVOLVED AND THE AMOUNT OF MONEY
SAVED BECAUSE THEY CAN SET IN MOTION A CHAIN OF RE-
DUCTIONS WHOSE CONSEQUENCES COULD BE TRAGIC, NOT ONLY
FOR THE ALLIANCE BUT FOR EVERY COUNTRY IN THE WORLD.

DEFENCE AND DETANTE ARE COMPLEMENTARY TO EACH OTHER.
A STRONG DEFENSE IS THE BASIS FOR OUR PURSUIT OF
DETENTE -- A WEAK DEFENSE IS THE SUREST WAY OF WEAKENING
THE SOVIET INCENTIVE FOR RESTRAINT. WE MAKE THIS POINT
CLEARLY AND OFTEN WITH THE AMERICAN CONGRESS AND WITH
OUR OWN PEOPLE, AND WE HOPE ALL MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE
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WILL DISUCSS FRANKLY WITH THEIR PEOPLE THE DANGERS OF
REDUCING OUR FORCES UNILATERALLY.

LET THE DECLARATION WE SIGN TODAY PROVIDE NEW MO-
MENTUM AND NEW SUPPORT FOR THE DEFENSE OF OUR NATIONS
AND A SOUND BASIS FOR SEEKING BETTER AND STABLE RE-
LATIONS WITH THE EAST.

BEYOND THAT, THE UNITED STATES IS ENCOURAGED BY
THE DIRECTION AND PACE OF RECENT EFFORTS TO GIVE MORE
MEAININFUL DIMENSIONS TO OUR PARTNERSHIP -- DIMENSIONS
BEYOND THAT OF DEFENSE. FIVE YEARS AGO, WE STRENGTHENED
THE ALLIANCE BY AGREEING TO SHARE OUR EXPERIENCES AND
RESOURCES IN IMPROVING THE QUALITY OF LIFE OF OUR
PEOPLES. THE DECLARATION WE ARE SIGNING TODAY CAN MARK
A NEW MOMENT IN ANOTHER VITAL AREA: THE RECOGNITION
THAT INTENSIVE AND FRANK CONSULTATIONS ARE THE CEMENT
THAT BINDS OUR ALLIANCE TOGETHER.

CONSULTATION SHOULD NOT BE VIEWED AS A LEGALLY
BINDING OBLIGATION. THAT IS NOT THE PURPOSE OF OUR
DECLARATION. RATHER CONSULTATIONS SYMBOLIZE A SPIRIT OF
COOPERATION WITHIN THE ALLIANCE WHICH THE UNITED STATES

HOPES WILL GROW INTO A RECOGNITION THAT NO ALLY SHOULD CONSIDER TAKING ANY ACTION AFFECTING THE OTHER ALLIES WITHOUT SEEKING THEIR COUNSEL AND THEIR UNDERSTANDING.

THE LEGAL OBLIGATIONS OF THE ALLIANCE ARE CONFINED GEOGRAPHICALLY, BUT IT IS EQUALLY TRUE -- AND EVENTS OF THE PAST YEAR HAVE PROVED IT -- THAT THE SECURITY AND INTERESTS OF ALL OF US CAN BE INTIMATELY AFFECTED BY EVENTS THAT OCCUR OUTSIDE THE FORMAL AREA OF OUR OBLIGATIONS. FOR US TO OVERLOOK THIS FACT, OR TO BELIEVE THAT WE CAN COMPETE OUTSIDE THE ALLIANCE AND COOPERATE IN THE ALLIANCE, IS A DANGEROUS ILLUSION. JUST AS DETENTE CANNOT BE USED SELECTIVELY, THE SPIRIT OF ALLIANCE SHOULD NOT BE SELECTIVE EITHER. THE UNITED STATES RECOGNIZES THIS REALITY, AND WE REAFFIRM TODAY OUR DETERMINATION TO CONSULT FULLY ON ALL MATTERS WHICH AFFECT THE INTERESTS OF OUR ALLIES.

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FINALLY, AS WE RECOGNIZE IN OUR DECLARATION OUR COMMON DEFENSE AND POLITICAL ASSOCIATION MUST BE SUSTAINED BY COOPERATIVE AND CONSTRUCTIVE ECONOMIC RELATIONS. THE U.S. WILL APPROACH ECONOMIC ISSUES IN A SPIRIT OF FRIENDSHIP AND IN THE CONVICTION THAT THE COMMON GOAL IS TO BENEFIT ALL OUR POEPLER AND THOSE OF THE WORLD AT LARGE, INCLUDING THOSE IN THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES IN WHICH ALL OF US HAVE AN INTEREST.

THE MOSCOW SUMMIT

AS THE SECRETARY-GENERAL HAS INDICATED, WHEN I LEAVE HERE TOMORROW, I WILL GO TO THE THIRD OF MY SUMMIT MEETINGS WITH GENERAL SECRETARY BREZHNEV.

I WANT TO STRESS THE IMPORTANCE WITH WHICH WE VIEW THIS WESTERN SUMMIT AND THE POSITIVE IMPACT IT WILL HAVE ON OUR DISCUSSIONS IN MOSCOW. OUR MEETING TODAY SYMBOLIZES OUR UNITY IN MOVING FORWARD TO SECURE PEACE. IT CONSEQUENTLY IS THE ESSENTIAL BACKDROP TO MY TALKS WITH GENERAL SECRETARY BREZHNEV AND HIS COLLEAGUES. THE SECRETARY OF STATE HAS BRIEFED THE RECENT FOREIGN MINISTER'S MEETING IN OTTAWA ABOUT THE DETAILS OF OUR FORTHCOMING NEGOTIATIONS -- THE PROBLEMS WE WILL CONFRONT, WHAT WE EXPECT CAN BE ACHIEVED, AND WHAT WILL HAVE TO BE THE SUBJECT OF FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS. AND CONSEQUENTLY I SHALL CONFINE MYSELF TO STATING OUR GENERAL APPROACH.

NO SOVIET LEADER HAS EVER BEEN LEFT IN THE SLIGHTEST DOUBT THAT THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE IS THE FIRM AND FUNDAMENTAL BASIS FOR THE AMERICAN APPROACH TO US-SOVIET RELATIONS. INDEED, IT IS MY IMPRESSION THAT THE SOVIET

LEADERSHIP HAS A CLEARER APPRECIATION OF THE VIGOR OF THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE THAN WE SOMETIMES DO OURSELVES.

ESSENTIALLY, THERE WILL BE THREE ASPECTS TO THE MOSCOW SUMMIT. WE WILL EXCHANGE VIEWS ON MAJOR INTERNATIONAL ISSUES. WE WILL HAVE AN EXTENSIVE REVIEW OF THE ENTIRE STATE OF OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS, ESPECIALLY IN THE FIELD OF ARMS CONTROL. AND WE EXPECT THAT NUMBER OF AGREEMENTS WILL BE SIGNED IN VARIOUS COOPERATIVE CONFIDENTIAL

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AREAS AND POSSIBLY ON SOME ARMS CONTROL MATTERS.

WE ARE GOING TO MOSCOW NOT WITH ANY ILLUSIONS, BUT IN THE CONVICTION THAT DETENTE IS NOT AN AUTOMATIC PROCESS AND REQUIRES CAREFUL EFFORTS TO MAINTAIN AND BROADEN IT.

WE ARE ALSO CONVINCED THAT CONTINUING WESTERN COHESION IS THE KEY TO THE ABILITY OF WESTERN NATIONS --NOT ONLY THE U.S. BUT EVERYONE AROUND THIS TABLE-- TO ESTABLISH A NEW RELATIONSHIP WITH THE SOVIET UNION. THE NATO DECLARATION WILL MAKE AN IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTION TO THIS END.

THE PRESENT SOVIET LEADERSHIP HAS BECOME PERSONALLY IDENTIFIED WITH THE POLICIES OF DETENTE. THE STAKE THEY HAVE IN THESE POLICIES HAS LED TO RESTRAINT IN EUROPE, IN SOUTHEAST ASIA AND IN DIRECT CONFRONTATIONS IN THE MIDDLE EAST. SHOULD DETENTE FAIL NOW, FOR WHATEVER REASON, THE CONSEQUENCES WILL BE PROFOUND, LONG-LASTING AND POSSIBLY IRREVERSIBLE. BY THE TIME SOVIET LEADERS REGAIN THE CONFIDENCE TO ATTEMPT A MODERATE COURSE WITH THE WEST AGAIN, CRITICAL DECISIONS ON STRATEGIC WEAPONS WILL HAVE BECOME IRREVERSIBLE AND THE PRESENT OPPORTUNITY FOR A LASTING PEACE MAY BE LOST

WHAT DOES DETENTE DO FOR US? FIRST, IT GIVES US A CHANCE TO TRY TO BRING THE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE UNDER CONTROL BEFORE IT CAN GET OUT OF HAND. SECOND, IT CREATES AN ENVIRONMENT IN WHICH PROBLEMS RANGING FROM ENERGY TO PEACE CAN BE ADDRESSED CONSTRUCTIVELY.

THIRD, IT BUILDS UP A NETWORK OF EAST-WEST TRADE AND COOPERATIVE AGREEMENTS THAT SHOULD REINFORCE MUTUAL RESTRAINT AND MAY GRADUALLY GIVE WIDER SECTIONS OF SOCIETY IN THE EAST A STAKE IN PEACE.

WE HAVE WITNESSED IN RECENT YEARS A TENDENCY TO BELIEVE THAT PERMANENT PEACE HAS ARRIVED AND THAT WE NO LONGER NEED A STRONG DEFENSE OR A VIGOROUS DIPLOMACY. THOSE WHO HOLD THIS VIEW SEEM TO FEEL THAT THE EMERGING

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RELATIONSHIP WITH THE EAST IS SO SECURE THAT IT CAN BE BURDENED WITH GREAT NEW DEMANDS.

THE UNITED STATES BELIEVES THIS TENDENCY IS BASED ON AN ILLUSION. WE DO NOT SHARE THAT ILLUSION. WE WILL BE GUIDED IN MOSCOW BY TWO PRINCIPLES:

--FIRST, WE WILL NEITHER ASSUME NOR CONVEY A FALSE SENSE OF EUPHORIA; WE WILL MAINTAIN OUR VIGILANCE AND OUR SUPPORT FOR WESTERN UNITY.

--SECOND, WHILE WE WILL PURSUE AND WILL DEFEND OUR BASIC VALUES AND POSITIONS, WE WILL ATTEMPT TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT SOVIET PERCEPTIONS AND INTERESTS IN ORDER TO FIND THE GROUND FOR AGREEMENT THAT ARE IN OUR MUTUAL INTEREST.

ON THE CSCE, ON MBFR AND ON ALL OTHER MULTILATERAL ISSUES IN WHICH THE INTERESTS OF OUR ALLIES ARE ENGAGED, AMERICAN POSITIONS WILL CONTINUE TO BE DEVELOPED IN FULL CONSULTATION AND CONCERT WITH OUR ALLIES. WE WILL CONSULT FULLY, AS WE DID BEFORE, ON SALT. WE WILL NEVER SACRIFICE THE INTERESTS OF OUR ALLIES TO ACHIEVE AGREEMENT WITH THE SOVIET UNION IN ANY AREA. THE SECRETARY OF STATE WILL BRIEF OUR ALLIES FOLLOWING THE SUMMIT AND YOU WILL SEE THAT THE PROMISES TO CONSULT WE HAVE MADE WILL BE CARRIED OUT.

THE MIDDLE EAST

NOW I WANT TO SAY WORD ABOUT MY VISIT TO THE MIDDLE EAST. THE RECENT CRISIS THERE AND THE FIRST TENTATIVE STEPS TOWARD ITS RESOLUTION, IN WHICH THE SECRETARY OF STATE PLAYED A BRILLIANT ROLE, HAVE PROVIDED THE CLEARST POSSIBLE DEMONSTRATION THAT ALL OF US HAVE A STAKE IN MAINTAINING PEACE OUTSIDE OUR OWN BOUNDRIES.

THE SECRETARY GENERAL HIGHLIGHTED TWO LESSONS FROM THE MIDDLE EAST IN HIS MOST RECENT POLITICAL APPRAISAL. THE FIRST IS THAT CONSULTATIONS ARE IMPERATIVE WHENEVER INTERNATIONAL CONFLICTS EXERT AN INFLUENCE OVER EAST-WEST RELATIONS. THE SECOND LESSON IS THAT DETENTE, CONFIDENTIAL

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WHILE INDIVISIBLE, IS NOT NECESSARILY IMMUTABLE. THE IMPORTANT PROGRESS IN EAST-WEST RELATIONS IN RECENT YEARS DID NOT PREVENT THE CRISIS OR ELIMINATE THE THREAT OF CONFRONTATION. AT THE SAME TIME, BY PREVENTING A MORE SERIOUS CRISIS AND FACILITATING THE

BEGINNINGS OF A POSSIBLE SOLUTION, DETENTE IN THE MIDDLE EAST CRISIS, PROVED ITS VALUE.

THERE ARE OTHER ASPECTS OF THE MIDDLE EAST CRISIS AND ITS AFTERMATH WHICH SHOULD BE EMPHASIZED HERE.

THE PETROLEUM CRISIS HAS BROUGHT HOME TO ALL OF US THE EMERGENCE OF GLOBAL INTERDEPENDENCE. INTERDEPENDENCE, WITH ITS CONSEQUENCES FOR OUR STRENGTH, FOR OUR SECURITY, FOR OUR PROGRESS AND PROSPERITY, IS NOW AN INESCAPABLE FACT OF INTERNATIONAL LIFE.

IT IS ALSO CLEAR THAT EACH OF US MUST SUPPORT THE SEARCH FOR PEACE AND STABILITY IN THE MIDDLE EAST. BECAUSE OF OUR UNIQUE POSITION AND THE DESIRES OF THE VARIOUS PARTIES CONCERNED IN THE AREA, THE UNITED STATES MUST CONTINUE TO PLAY A CENTRAL ROLE IN THE PROCESS OF SEEKING A REALISTIC DIPLOMATIC ALTERNATIVE TO WAR, A ROLE WE WILL PLAY ON A STEP-BY-STEP BASIS. WE MUST RECOGNIZE AND WE DO RECOGNIZE THAT OUR EUROPEAN ALLIES HAVE VITAL INTERESTS THERE AND WILL WISH TO PLAY SUBSTANTIAL ROLES OF THEIR OWN. WE WELCOME THAT ACTION AND INTENT BY OUR ALLIES. WE HOPE THAT OUR ACTIVITIES IN THE AREA CAN BE COORDINATED SO THAT WE CAN WORK TOGETHER FOR PEACE AND ECONOMIC PROGRESS.

FINALLY, THE NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST ILLUSTRATE THE IMPORTANCE OF THE EVOLVING US-SOVIET RELATIONSHIP. LET ME SPEAK VERY FRANKLY AND CANDIDLY ON THE SUBJECT. DESPITE RESERVATIONS ON THEIR PART, BECAUSE THEIR INTERESTS ARE DIFFERENT, THE SOVIET UNION DID NOT CREATE SIGNIFICANT OBSTACLES DURING THE DISENGAGEMENT NEGOTIATIONS. THE SOVIET UNION HAS ENDORSED THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS AND HAS ACCEPTED THE RESULT ACHIEVED SO FAR. THIS GENERALLY CONSTRUCTIVE
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APPROACH HAS NOT BEEN EASY FOR THE SOVIET UNION, BUT IT HAS BEEN IMPORTANT FOR US ALL. THIS DOES NOT MEAN THAT WE DO NOT FACE VERY SIGNIFICANT OBSTACLES IN PURSUING A MEANINGFUL PEACE.

CONCLUSION

MY VISIT HERE, BEFORE GOING ON TO MOSCOW, DEMONSTRATES AMERICA'S PRIORITIES. SIMILARLY, THE DECLARATION WE SIGN HERE TODAY DRAMATICALLY DEMONSTRATES THAT THE UNITY OF THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE IS THE FIRM BASIS OF ALL OF OUR EFFORTS TO ENGAGE OUR POTENTIAL ADVERSARIES IN A NEW ERA OF EAST-WEST COOPERATION.

FIVE YEARS AGO, IN ADDRESSING THE 20TH ANNIVERSARY

SESSION OF THIS COUNCIL, IN THIS ROOM, I TOUCHED ON THE IDEALS WHICH GUIDE THE ALLIANCE -- THE IDEALS OF DECENCY, JUSTICE, LIBERTY AND RESPECT FOR THE RIGHTS OF OUR FELLOW MEN. THESE ARE THE IDEALS AT THE VERY HEART OF WESTERN SOCIETY, WHICH OVER THE CENTURIES WE HAVE, EACH IN HIS OWN WAY, STRUGGLED TO WIN AND DEFEND.

THE DEFENSE OF OUR IDEALS AND THE SAFEGUARDING OF OUR FREEDOMS WILL CONTINUE TO REQUIRE OUR COMBINED AND DEDICATED EFFORTS -- THE PARTICIPATION OF EACH MEMBER OF THE ALLIANCE AS A FULL PARTNER IN THE PURSUIT OF OUR COMMON OBJECTIVES. AT THIS 25TH ANNIVERSARY SESSION, I REAFFIRM THE DEDICATED PARTICIPATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

ON MANY OCCASIONS I HAVE DESCRIBED THE UNITED STATES RELATIONS WITH WESTERN EUROPE AS THE CORNERSTONE OF UNITED STATES FOREIGN POLICY, NOT JUST FOR THE ATLANTIC AND EUROPE BUT FOR THE WHOLE WORLD. AS WE LOOK TO THE NEXT 25 YEARS OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC ALLIANCE, LET US DEDICATE OURSELVES TO KEEPING THE ALLIANCE STRONG SO THAT IN DEALING WITH THE PRESSING ISSUES OF OUR TIME, NATO MAY ALSO BE THE CORNERSTONE OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND STABILITY. END TEXT.
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